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248 Another plant that formerly furnished fibers is the məə'vɨ (*Bromelia* sp.; l.g., curauá);[a] they served especially for bowstrings and for lashing arrows.

[145] According to Bates the small bags (tʊ'/maka) with carrying strap were made of bromelia threads;[b] in them the hunter carried ammunition for his shotgun, and they also served as containers for trifles at home. Today, without exception, they are made of tucum fiber (pl. 7, *c*). Nowadays bromelia is only rarely cultivated, and then on a lesser scale as a medicinal plant.

177 After the beginning of commerce with the Neobrazilians, tobacco also was cultivated less frequently, and it has almost disappeared from Tukuna clearings. Its [249] old name was pɔ:'ri. Pre-Columbian occurrence is probable, since tobacco is used in Tukuna magic ceremonies. Aside from sugar cane and bananas, the Tukuna 241 adopted from the Neobrazilians only the watermelon, vɔ'rača (from the Portu- 177 guese *melancía*), and the squash, *jurumúm* (*Cucurbita maxima*), of which they make little use.

However, they cultivate almost all the Neobrazilian fruits,[c] planting around their houses mangoes (*Mangifera indica*, Reg.), avocados (*Persea gratissima*, Gaert.), *abiú*, *atta*, *biribá*, oranges, lemons, papayas (*Carica papaya* L.), guavas (*Psidium guayava*, Raddi), cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.), *bacuri*, and *ingá*. It is difficult to determine whether most of these fruit trees were cultivated by the Tukuna in pre-Columbian times. The genipa and the urucú figure in the legends of culture heroes; both are found in the house yards.

There are a great number of medicinal plants, many of them being cultivated 249 at the border of the house yard so as to be always at hand. For poisonous snake 278 bite the Tukuna apply a liquid prepared from the scrapings of a plant called ●157 a/tapë-arɨ-eɨ[a] (medicine of jararáca; *Bothrops jararaca*) boiled in water; they give the victim spoonfuls of this at intervals, until the symptoms subside. If the accident occurs in the jungle, far from home, the victim chews the green leaves of a common bush, swallowing the juice in order to retard the effects of the poison.

The bulb of a cultivated plant, dyaa'-arɨ-eɨ[a] (diarrhoea medicine) or pʊ:'čul ("nightingale"), scraped and made into an infusion with cold water, is used for diarrhoea (dya'ɨ[a]). The dried leaves of čëë-arɨ-ɛɨ (medicine for blows; čëë, blows), also cultivated, are tied over bruises which break the skin. For earache, the leaves of ṅuma'čië-arɨ-ɛɨ[a] (P., *trevo rouxo*, purple trefoil) are crushed to distill the juice, which is slightly warmed with a firebrand and introduced into the ear by a leaf rolled into funnel shape. This is also a cultivated plant.

The root scrapings of ɛ/tɨmaa (bitter; l.g., *gapuhy*; *Martinella obovata*) a solid-ground jungle cipó, are applied in the same way for conjunctivitis. If this remedy proves ineffective, an ash from the charred tip of the Mauritia palm, curauá, is dropped into the eye; today this species is planted only for this purpose.

Domestic animals.—For domestic animals the Tukuna have only dogs, chickens, 231 ducks, and, rarely, a cat (T., pe'cana; l.g., *pichano*). According to Tukuna belief, 235 chickens (ɔta', from the ancient Quechua, *atahuallpa*)[d] were caught somewhere in

[a] The term *curaúá* is also used for a palm (*Mauritia curaua*).—Trans.
[b] Bates, 2:403.
[c] See Glossary for species and description of these fruits.
[d] Nordenskiöld, Deductions Suggested by the Geographical Distribution of Some Post-Columbian Words Used by the Natives of South America, Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 5:17 ff.

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881 still on the tapir hide, and carry her to the river's edge, where the mother and the paternal uncle's wife remove her ornaments, while the arrow is stuck in the water some four meters from shore. Completely stripped, the vərëkị kneels naked in the water, and the same shamans who were busy with the arrow now wash her with [842] handfuls of water, always passing the liquid from feet to head to prevent her becoming prematurely pregnant. If the shamans overdo in this task, the girl will never have children; if, afterward, a girl is sterile, the same shamans must be called in again to undo the spell. Finally, the vərëkị crawls on all fours between the legs of one of the shamans, who remains standing in the water next to the arrow. Giving a leap and circling the arrow, she dives several times into the deeper water. While she is going ashore to be decorated anew, one of the shamans pulls out the arrow and holds it vertically over the surface of the river, while with the other hand he makes gestures with water toward the arrow. Once I saw a vərëkị, who was not carried to the bath but went afoot, throw before her path handfuls of ashes, on which she walked in order to protect herself against some malignant influence emanating from the earth.

The close of the ceremony.—The seclusion room and the platform beside it for the smoked meat are demolished, the wreckage being piled in the center of the house. This is swept, and all the rubbish, which is naturally considerable, is heaped up in burden baskets. Each guest takes an armful of the debris, and the women carry away the burden baskets full of rubbish, while others bundle up the dance staves, spears, and masquerade hooks. Thereupon all follow in procession to the river, where they throw their loads into the water (pl. 11, *c*). Unless this is done, all the residents of the house will sicken and slowly die.

On this occasion everyone takes a bath without removing his clothes; that is, [515] men, women, and children drag and toss one another into the river. Soon the clayey edge, wetted down by those entering and leaving, becomes so slick that any [522] push is sufficient to force a person to slip into the river. The scene arouses great hilarity and at times has a certain erotic stamp, but it is still an excellent refresher to raise the spirits of those who have drunk to excess.

The guests change their wet and muddy festive attire for workaday clothing, load their canoes, and leave, but those remaining behind take to their hammocks only after emptying the jars to the last drop of paiauarú. The house is again carefully swept and, as the only memory of the feast, there remains the vərëkị with a cloth wrapped round her head (pl. 15, *a*), costume fringes thrown over the highest rafters, a few costumes dangling from the house posts, and some dance staves that escaped destruction thrust beneath the roof thatch.

No remedy is applied to the vərëkị's denuded head; however, I once saw a [302] woman with a beautiful head of hair rub it over the girl's cranium immediately [757] after the depilation. I have never seen, or heard it said, that the operation has any disagreeable consequences for the girl except that she must wear a handkerchief tied round her head until the new hair has grown.

In the old days there was an additional ceremony immediately after the close of the feast, of which a remembrance is preserved in legends. The vərëkị was taken by her relatives to some fishing spot in the igarapé and, standing erect in the water, was washed with a solution of the drug timbó. It was hoped that this

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choose [the powers he desires]: "Do you want these two?' They are good ones. Or those two? They are bad ones. Or these others?" The disciple swallows the ones chosen.

On the following day the master teaches his pupil the songs of the tree spirits, and at night asks one of them to visit the pupil. It comes to him in a dream in human form, about the size of a four-year-old child, and hands the dreamer a small gourd with a tobacco infusion, which he drinks. Then the spirit asks him what he wishes, and the disciple indicates his desire to have the spirit as an assistant. Then the spirit sings his song (na'aẽ), which the novice learns and sings after the visitor's departure.

When this initiation is completed, the master does not fail to advise the learner in forceful and energetic terms never to abuse his acquired powers but to employ them exclusively against "our enemies," that is, against evil sorcerers, so that he will not, beneath the cudgels of avengers, die before his time.

Witchcraft through "thorns".'—However, for a shaman the temptation to employ his acquired powers against any object of private disaffection is great and, if the new shaman has not already received any magical substances (ta:'kaka) of evil effect, he asks one of the spirit trees that possess thorns, especially the pupunha palm and the açaeú, for them. At the foot of one of these trees he clears a spot, and on it he places a small gourd with a cigarette rolled in the inner bark of tauarí lying across the top. The following morning he finds in the pot the ta:'kaka, which contains (in an altered state) the thorns requested; this he swallows. The thorns, the sorcerer's "arrows," are placed on his right forearm; the "bow" is his left forearm.

Even so, the sorcerer does not shoot his projectiles with the motion of an arrow release. Going alone into the jungle after sunset, he concentrates the magic substances on his right thumb, and, giving a flick with the thumbnail placed beneath the nail of the third finger, he speeds the thorns on their way toward the victim. Some shamans, as far as can be ascertained, vomit the ta:'kaka, afterward throwing it with the hand. The thorns, always male and female, penetrate the body of the bewitched invisibly, and usually insensibly; there they meet and reproduce in great numbers, spreading throughout the entire body via the bloodstream, corrupting it and causing death, unless a competent person intervenes in time.

The sick person has recourse to a shaman, whose first care is to see in a dream the perpetrator of evil. Afterward, by feeling the patient he locates the thorns and extracts them by sucking. A treatment with vegetable medicines completes the cure (see p. 23). The medicinal properties of many plants are general knowledge, and they may be used by anyone; it is only hoped that the shaman may have more extensive knowledge of them.

Occasionally the Tukuna employ a curious medicine to provoke vomiting. In the igapós of their territory, a tree frog (*Phyllomedusa* sp.; T., ba'kora, in imitation of the croak) is found fairly frequently, which has a vivid green back, a whitish belly, and on its flanks a slime of soapy consistency that disintegrates in water. The creature moves extremely slowly, hence it is easily captured. The Indians

[a] Magical substances are always in pairs, male and female.

[b] *Espinhos:* lit., "thorns," "boils," "afflictions." After examination of the context, I believe that "thorns" is the best term.—Trans.

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825 757 catch it by means of a leaf and transfer the slime directly to the skin of the arm, in order to produce vomiting, for example, after a drinking bout.

Other witchcraft.—Thorns, however, are not the only means by which the sor- 754 cerers destroy the objects of their malevolence. Some harbor a venomous snake in their body and send it against the enemy. Others sing to the spirit of the "shaman log" rotting on the riverbank, transforming it into a snake that will bite the enemy as he passes. Not all snake bites are caused by witchcraft, however; there are snakes that, without having any connection at all with shamans, bite anyone who passes. Again, sorcerers send the ghosts of ferocious animals against the persons whom they wish to eliminate, causing the victims to provoke bloody quarrels in which they are killed. Others, by a method I failed to learn, cause madness in their victims, who commit suicide. The suicides described earlier, and one not mentioned, [762] were all attributed to the malefactions of the celebrated warlock, ʊ'irʊ, whose death I shall relate farther on.

An interesting observation concerning this madness caused by witchcraft was made to me by Calixto daueru'kị, himself a shaman of no mean reputation: "The sorcerer can injure only fools, against the wise he can do nothing." For this reason the Tukuna believe that their warlocks are powerless against civilized persons. Quirino, who died in 1932, swore that, among the Tukuna of Peruaté, Peru, he had been an eyewitness to an act of sorcery, which he described as follows. One day, while yet a boy, he followed an old man going into the jungle. There Quirino watched him weave the figure of a jaguar from uarumã, on which he placed a strip of tururí stretching from the tip of the muzzle to the tip of the tail. He had received this tururí, as well as the uarumã, from the underworld, na:'pị (the habitation of the demons). He stretched the tururí until it covered the figure entirely, afterward painting it with black spots like those of a jaguar. Then he turned to the boy and said, "Do not be alarmed!" and tossed the figure on top of an anthill (*cupim*). Immediately it was transformed into a live jaguar, which ran off howling into the jungle. This jaguar killed people and brought their bodies to the old man, who ate them.

Quirino told his father what he had seen, and the news spread, coming to the attention of the civilized Peruvians, who ordered the old man arrested and burned. This story is interesting because it proves that warlocks maintain relations also with the demons of the underworld.

Identification of a murdering sorcerer.—When a person is considered to have 754 died as a result of witchcraft, his relatives do not always take the trouble to have 682 the murdering sorcerer discovered. Sometimes, however, they call in a competent [787] shaman, who smokes beside the corpse, goes to sleep, and sees in a dream the soul of the slayer coming to eat his victim. Formerly there were shamans who, after obliging everyone else to leave the house, sang in sight of the cadaver, smoked, and opened the earth invisibly by means of magic gestures with their hands. Through this aperture they invoked the warlock's soul, and as soon as it appeared they struck it down. The wounded soul immediately returned to the body of the sorcerer, who died within the hour.

Nino ɕvẽn[ᵊ]kị told me the following about the death of Marcellino, the famous 754 sorcerer and chief of the čara' clan, at which he was present in 1938. The soul